

Message Text

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S E C R E T NICOSIA 2811

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TAGS: PFORJZ, CY,TU, GR,

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH CLERIDES

1. SUMMARY. CLERIDES SAYS MAKARIOS WANTED FOURTH ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK TO FAIL AND IS WELL PLEASED THAT TURKS PLAYED INTO HIS HAND. DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW YORK REVIEWED. CLERIDES THINKS PROSPECT FOR NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS IS FOR MUCH USELESS AND PERHAPS HARMFUL RHETORIC. MAKARIOS WILL SEEK INTERNATIONALIZATION. CLERIDES HOPEFUL THAT IN THE END, HOWEVER, WORLD COMMUNITY WILL APPROVE A UNGA RESOLUTION THAT SUPPORTS CONTINUATION OF PRESENT NEGOTIATION. ON BASIS HIS CONVERSATIONS IN US, CLERIDES CONSIDERS THERE A 50-50 CHANCE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO WILL BE PARTIALLY LIFTED. IF IT IS, CLERIDES PREDICTS STRONG GREEK REACTIONS STIMULATED IN PART BY MAKARIOS' "ENLIGHTENMENT" CAMPAIGN. CLERIDES WELCOMES DESIGNATION OF PERUVIAN DE CUELLER AS NEW SYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. I MET WITH CLERIDES SEPTEMBER 19 FOR TOUR D'HOURLON OF WHICH FOLLOWING WERE HIGHLIGHTS:

3. ROUND IV. CLERIDES SAID MAKARIOS HAD WANTED
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ROUND IV TO FAIL AND THE TURKS HAVE PLAYED HIS GAME

BEAUTIFULLY. MAKARIOS' INTEREST HAD BEEN IN GETTING AMMUNITION FOR THE ARMS EMBARGO VOTE AND TO SET THE STAGE FOR UNGA. CLERIDES' INSTRUCTIONS LAID DOWN BY MAKARIOS AND SUBSERVIENT COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL HAD BEEN BERY TIGHT. GREEK SIDE HAD NEVER FELT THAT RUEKFAWOULD COMEUP WITH VERY MUCH BUT MAKARIOS FEARED IT MIGHT BE DRESSED UP WELL ENOUGH TO CREATE AN ILLUSION OF FLEXICILITY AND THEREBY RISK FKRUSTRATING HIS OBJECTIVE. CLERIDES' ORDERS WERE TO ACCEPT NOTHING WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ARCH-BISHOP, ESPECIALLY A FIXED DATE FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION. HOWEVER, WITH KARAMANLIS IN ATHENS EN ROUTE TO NEW YORK, CLERIDES HAD PROPOSED AND KARAMANLIS HAD PROMISED TO SUPPORT POSITION THAT IF TURKS PRESENTED SOMETHING FAINTLY REASONALBE CLERIDES WOULD ACCEPT IT THEN AND THERE AS BASIS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION AFTER TURKISH ELECTIONS WITHOUT RPT WITHOUT REFERRING HIS DECISION BACK TO MAKARIOS.

4. IN THE EVENT, AS IA KNEW, DENKTASH HAD NOTHING TO OFFER AND EXCELLENT EFFORTS OF SYG CAME TO NAUGHT IN EVERY SENSE EXCEPT THAT CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION HAS BEEN PRESERVED FOR USE IN THE INDEFINITE FUTURE. THREE FORMULAS HAD BEEN FLOATED IN AN EFFORT TO PROGRESS. SHOWING ME HIS NOTES FROM NEW YORK, CLERIDES WENT OVER THESE IN DETAIL. IN BRIEF, AND CHRONOLOGICALLY, THERE HAD BEEN FIRST A CLERIDES SUGGESTION THAT IF TURKS COULD NOW ACCEPT SOME REFUGEE RETURN TO VAROSHA HE WOULD AGREE TO FIXING A DATE IN OCTOBER. THIS WAS REJECTED BY DENKTASH. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A CHAGLAYANGIL FORMULATION UNDER WHICH CLERIDES WOULD HAVE PROPOSED THAT TURKS STUDY REDUCTION IN TERRITORYKHeld TO 25-30 PERCENT, REITERATING THE AGREEMENTTO BIZONALITY IF TERRITORIAL ASPECTS RESOLVED, AND FIX A NEW DATE, WITH TURKISH SIDE UNDERTAKING TO STUDY ITS POSITION ON TERRITORY BETWEEN NOW AND NEXT MEETING. CLERIDES REJECTED THIS ON INSTRUCTION. FINAL "SUGGESTION" WAS FROM WALDHEIM. WHO ARFULLY SOUGHT TO BLEND A TURKISH COMMITMENT TO DEFINITE TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS BY NEXT ROUND WITH FIXING A DATE AND A CLERIDES REITERATED COMMITMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO BIZONALITY CONTINGENT UPON AN EVENTUAL SATISFACTORY TURKISH POSITION ON TERRITORY. SYG'S SUGGESTION WAS REJCETED BY DENKTASH BEFORE IT EVER

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GOT OFF THE GROUND WITH ASSERTION THAT WALDHEIM EXCEEDING HIS MANDATE IN PUTTING FORWARD HIS OWN IDEAS.

5. I NOTED THAT TURKS ARE NOW CHARGING GREEKS WITH HAVING RECANTED ON VIENNA III ACCEPTANCE OF BIZONALITY AND ASKED FOR THE RECORD WHETHER THIS WAS TRUE. CLERIDES SAID ABSOLUTELY NOT. HE AND ARCHBISHOP AS WELL REALIZED THERE COULD BE NO SOLUTION EXEPT A BIZONAL ONE.

6. UNGA. I TOLD CLERIDES IT SEEMED TO ME THAT WE WERE IN FOR SEVERAL WEEKS OF RHETORIC AND COUNTER-INVECTIVE THAT WOULD PRODUCE NO PROGRESS AND COULD GO SO FAR AS TO DESTROY THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE NEGOTIATION. IN TERMS OF MY OWN GOVERNMENT'S ROLE, I COULD THINK OF LITTLE TO RECOMMEND OTHER THAN THAT WE WORK WITH OTHERS TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE NEGOTIATION. I NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY WE HAD SPOKEN AGAINST TURKISH CYPRIOT UDI. DEPARTMENT HAD ALSO TAKEN SHARP ISSUE WITH AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU ON THE QUESTION OF ARCH-BISHOP'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS. CLERIDES SAID I WAS ABSOLUTELY RIGHT ABOUT EMPTY RHETORIC BEING THE ORDER OF THE DAY. HE HAD WARMLY WELCOMED US STATEMENT ON UDI AND HE KNEW MAKARIOS' PENCHANT FOR PLAYING BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET WAS HARMFUL.

7. I ASKED CLERIDES WHAT HE FORESAW FOR UNGA. HE SAID MAKARIOS WANTS RESOLUTION HOLDING TURKISH CLEARLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST YEAR'S LACK OF PROGRESS, SIDETRACKING THE EXISTING NEGOTIATION BY SUBSTITUTING A LARGER GROUP INCLUDING SOME NON-ALIGNED STATES. CLERIDES HIMSELF HOPED THAT AN EVENTUAL RESOLUTION WOULD CALL FOR A CONTINUATION OF HIS NEGOTIATION WITH DENKTASH WITHOUT ENLARGEMENT. I CAUTIONED CLERIDES, AS I HAD FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES, AGAINST GOING SO FAR IN TRYING TO EXTRACT THEIR POUND OF FLESH THAT TURKEY WAS PUSHED OUT THE OTHER SIDE. INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS WAS USEFUL IN KEEPING TURKEY ON BOARD ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

8. HOUFU ACTION. REMARKING ON CLERIDES' MEETING IN NEW YORK WITH CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAM AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO, I ASKED WHAT IMPRESSION HE HAD RECEIVED ON THE CHANCES OF EMBARGO BEGIN PARTIALLY
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REMOVED, WHICH US ADMINISTRATION WAS CONVINCED WAS ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS. CLERIDES REPLIED THAT BRADEMAM AND OTHERS ESTIMATED THE ODDS AT 50-50.

9. ALSO IN RELATION TO HOUSE ACTION, I COMMENTED ON ARCHBISHOP'S "ENLIGHTENMENT" CAMPAIGN. I NOTED THAT "ENLIGHTENMENT" WOULD ADD UP TO INCITEMENT IN THE EVENT HOUSE PARTIALLY LIFTED EMBARGO. I ASKED CLERIDES WHAT HE THOUGHT GREED REACTION WOULD BE. HE REPLIED "VERY BAD BOTH HERE AND IN GREECE BUT AT LEAST THERE THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ACT TO PREVENT MATTERS GETTING OUT OF HAND". HE THOUGHT GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD IGNORE BALANCING FEATURES OF THE BILL. HE AGREED THEY HAD DEVELOPED A FANATIC OBSESSION THAT RETENTION OF

EMBARGO WAS THE ONLY WAY THEIR PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED.

10. US ELECTIONS. I REFERRED TO REPORTS THAT MANY GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD DECIDED TO WAIT OUT THE US ELECTIONS IN 1976 IN THE HOPES THAT THINGS MIGHT GO BETTER FOR THEM UNDER A DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATION. CLERIDES SAID IT WAS TRUE THAT MAKARIOS AND THAT SCHOOL OF THOUGHT PREFERRED TO WAIT WERE ARGUING THIS. HE REGARDED THIS AS FOOLISH ILLUSION. FIRST THERE MIGHT WELL BE NO CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATION AND, SECONDLY, EVEN A DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE LIKELY TO HAVE SAME PERCEPTION OF US NATIONAL INTERESTS.

11. NEW SYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. I TOLD CLERIDES WE HAD RECEIVED A GOOD REPORT ON SYG'S NEW SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO CYPRUS, PERUVIAN PERMREP PEREZ DEDUELLER, WHICH GAVE HIM TOP MARKS AS A DIPLOMAT. CLERIDES SAID THIS WAS ALSO HIS INFORMATION. CRAWFORD

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